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Date: 12/1/69

Transmit the following in _____

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Via Airtel _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-4-28)
 FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-43) (P)
 SUBJECT: DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
 MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
 RACIAL MATTERS

OO: MEMPHIS

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 11/21/69.

Enclosed herewith for Bureau are 11 copies of
 LHM dated 12/1/69, captioned as above.

LHM is being disseminated to U. S. Attorney,
 U. S. Secret Service, and regional offices of Military
 Intelligence.

- (2) - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
 2 - Atlanta (1 - 157 - SCLC) (RM) (Info.)
 (1 - 157 - RALPH D. ABERNATHY)
 (13) - Memphis
 (1 - 157-43)
 (1 - 157-1168) (Racial Situation, Tennessee)
 (1 - 157-1516) (AFSCME)
 (1 - 100-662) (NAACP)
 (1) - 157-166) (SCLC)
 (1 - 157-2269) (MOBILIZERS, INC.)
 (1 - 157-1067) (Invaders)
 (1 - 170-70 Sub) (ME 338-R)
 (1-157-1121) (EZEKIEL BELL)

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

 (1-157-1605) (JESSE EPPS)
 (1-66-6687 Sub a) (DISSEMINATION)

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WHL:tjm
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Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

157-166-871

ME 157-43

Source one is ME 338-R

LHM classified confidential to protect informant of continuing value to Internal Security of U. S.

UACB Memphis will cease forwarding weekly LHMs re the Memphis School Situation in captioned case, since school operations have returned to normal.

Memphis will follow the United Black Coalition - SCLC activities in the SCLC file.

Information copies being sent to Atlanta to show formation of SCLC chapter in Memphis and to show ABERNATHY's recent activities.

Memphis will place instant case in a pending inactive status and follow through informants and public sources future desegregation activities relating to Memphis Board of Education,



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
December 1, 1969

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Declassified Authority: FBI
Automatic Declass Guide By: NARA
Date: 03-25-2013

RE: DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

The following is a summary of pertinent activities
of captioned matter occurring since Friday, November 21, 1969:

On the early afternoon of November 21, 1969, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Administrative Aide of Chief of Police, Memphis, Tennessee, Henry Lux, advised that the Black United Coalition primarily consisting of dissident NAACP members who have recently broken away from the parent body, the Local 1733, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Union and related dissident Negro groups continue to boycott the Memphis Public Schools despite the fact that a few days before the Memphis NAACP which had started the original boycott back in October, 1969, had called for moratorium and an end to the boycotting hoping for meaningful negotiations with the Memphis Board of Education concerning some 15 odd demands originally made by the NAACP for further desegregation of employment and school facilities in Memphis, Tennessee.

He stated that a total of 14,175 students were absent November 21, 1969, and that heavy picketing of predominantly black schools, namely Northside High, Manassas High and Douglas High in North Memphis was heavy also at Hyde Park Grade School. He stated that the Police Department was forced to arrest seven juveniles and one adult, all Negroes, in the vicinity of Manassas High School. All were charged with disorderly conduct after the group started throwing rocks at police vehicles and doing some rock damage to Manassas High School.

He pointed out that during the night of November 20, an unknown arsonist had set fire at Melrose High School, a

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GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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157-166-870

COPIES AND DISSEMINATION OF LHM: (ON MEMPHIS COPIES ONLY)

11 - Bureau 2 - Atlanta (RM) (Info) (1 - 157-SCLC)
1 - USA, Memphis (RM) (1- 157- RALPH D.
1 - U. S. Secret Service, Memphis (RM) ABERNATHY)
1 - G-2, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)
1 - 111th INTC, Region 5, Nashville (RM)
1 - OSI, 8th District, Maxwell AFB, Alabama
1 - NISO, Charleston, S. C.

13 - Memphis

1 - 157-43
1 - 157-1168 (Racial Situation, Tennessee)
1 - 157-1516 (AFSCME)
1 - 100-662 (NAACP)
1 - 157-166 (SCLC)
1 - 157-2269 (Mobilizers, Inc.)
1 - 157-1067 (Invaders)
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R)
1 - 66-1687 Sub A (Dissemination)
1 - 157-1121 (EZEKIEL BELL)

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

1 - 157-1605 (JESSE EPPS)

WHL:tjm
(32)

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predominantly Negro school where considerable boycotting had taken place and that three classrooms, a rest room and a utility room were partially destroyed, doing approximately \$5,000 in damage.

He stated that on November 21, 1969, unknown students set small fires in various lockers at Northside High School.

The "Press Scimitar," a daily Memphis, Tennessee, newspaper, issued November 22, 1969, elaborated on the November 21, 1969, arrests and incidents, stating that the black boycott of Memphis Public Schools had terminated effective the night of November 21, 1969, and that the Board of Education had agreed that students previously suspended for excessive absences might return to classes Monday, November 24, 1969, but must make up time missed by remaining after school in supervised study halls, and that the United Black Coalition, which had continued to boycott after the NAACP had previously voted for a ten-day cooling off period, had agreed to call on Negro parents to return their children to schools.

It stated that Reverend Ezekiel Bell, ousted president of the NAACP and new chairman of the United Black Boycott, had stated that the ending of the boycott had nothing to do with a ten million dollar law suit filed against coalition leaders by the Memphis Board of Education in United States District Court on November 21, 1969.

Reverend Bell told the press that the boycott was being ended because the leaders had been assured by School Board that no punitive measures would be taken against students who had participated in the boycott or against their parents or against teachers and that the coalition wanted the students back in school in full force because black power in the long run will depend upon education, which he described as a main weapon of the

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black community to combat a white racist power structure.

The paper stated that some of the black leaders were charging that the Police Department used excessive force in making arrests on November 21, 1969, and that the Board of Education had agreed to three separate actions which would give Negro leaders a greater voice in the administration of Memphis Public Schools, namely, to appoint two Negro advisors to the board; to work for legislation that would provide for Negro representation on the board and a study of the school system's administrative structure to be made with the goal of appointing a Negro Assistant Superintendent and a Negro Coordinator, and that advisors to make this study would be appointed by December 1, 1969.

The paper reported that Roy Wilkins, International Executive Secretary of NAACP, while passing through Memphis, on November 22, 1969, had "expressed confidence in the Negro leadership of the NAACP in Memphis."

The paper stated that Jesse Epps, International Representative of AFSCME denied that the ending of the school issue would hurt his campaign against St. Joseph Hospital in which he was seeking recognition of AFSCME. He said that until this time his union had put a higher priority on the educational issue than on the St. Joseph strike.

Mr. Epps accused the Memphis Police Department of excessive force in effecting November 21, 1969, arrests. The paper quoted the Memphis Police Director Frank C. Holloman as stating that the police had movies and pictures of students arming themselves with bricks, rocks and bottles during the demonstration activities, particularly on November 21, 1969, described above, and that when orders

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were given by the police for the armed youths to disperse, the youths continued their "guerrilla warfare against the school."

It stated that the police had to take action to disperse this guerrilla activity in order to assure the safety and protection of students who desired an education.

The paper quoted Joseph Crittendon of 1516 North Second Street, a disgruntled former board member of the Memphis NAACP, of claiming that the police were unnecessarily rough in making the arrests. Mr. Crittendon admitted to the paper that the youths had been smashing windows of a business nearby and that a group of policemen arrived to disperse them.

The "Commercial Appeal," a daily Memphis, Tennessee, newspaper, issued November 22, 1969, reported also that the United Black Coalition had called off the school boycotts after the Memphis Board of Education filed a ten million dollar suit against some of the coalition members. It further stated that the Executive Committee of the NAACP at a meeting on the night of November 21, 1969, had called for a permanent suspension of school boycotts and has accepted the recommendation of its negotiation committee to halt its direct actions against the School Board and to negotiate solutions to unresolved issues and that a new NAACP negotiating committee would be named in the immediate future to meet with proper board officials according to its president, Leroy Clark.

The paper reported that prior to the announcement of the moratorium on the boycotting that the Board of Education officials, as well as City Councilman Fred Davis (Negro), had both stated that the strike against St. Joseph Hospital was the major factor in continuing the school boycotts as long as they lasted.

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The paper stated that the board made this charge in its complaint for injunctions and damages filed in United States District Court against the union and 11 individuals. The NAACP was not included and that a hearing on the complaint was scheduled for 9:30 a.m., November 25, 1969.

However, the School Board spokesman had stated that a suspension of the school boycotts could ultimately effect the board's decision to press the suit.

In the complaint, filed in United States District Court, according to the paper, the board stated it believed that the dominant purpose of the school boycott and particularly the absenteeism and vandalism since November 13, 1969, when the NAACP moratorium began, was to aid and abet the union in its controversy with St. Joseph Hospital. Beside the union, the defendants in the board complaint were Jesse Epps, International Representative of AFSCME, Melvin Wade, Chairman of the Grievance Committee of the union's local in Memphis, Jerry Wurf, International President of the union, Reverend James Edward Smith and Reverend Malcolm D. Blackburn, Local 1733 Union representatives, along with Reverend Ezekiel Bell, Chairman of the Black United Coalition, the Reverend Harold Middlebrook and the Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., all coalition leaders along with the Reverend H. Ralph Jackson, Director of the Minimum Salary Department of the AME Church and Cordell Jackson and Herman O'Neal, leaders of the group known as Memphis Mobilizers, a splinter group of the SCLC. The suit stated in part that the defendants "have begun a campaign of turmoil, unrest, violence, threats, vandalism in the destruction of property in and around the public schools and has made the order of this court with respect to the desegregation of public schools impossible to perform.

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The paper stated that at a press conference called on the evening of November 21, 1969, coalition leader Reverend Lawson stated "that the United Black Coalition urges all students to return to school Monday morning (November 24, 1969)." The paper stated that the NAACP had issued two strong statements of objections to the continuation of boycotting, one reading "We deplore and condemn the violence that is currently being wrought on schools; we want our rights and will continue to fight for them. However, we cannot see how the present violent actions by some persons in our city can help us attain our goal." This quote quoted the statements made by Leroy Clark, the new NAACP president.

The paper stated that the Board of Education estimated that \$80,000 worth of window damage has been done to schools in Memphis and most of it occurred since the first student walkout October 9, 1969. The paper stated that Mrs. MAXINE SMITH said "This violence has got to stop." She added "No one better put his hand on my child to keep him out of school because that's where my nonviolence ends."

Lieutenant Arkin advised on November 22, 1969, that the identities of those individuals arrested for disorderly conduct, rock throwing and related activities on November 21, 1969, were

Mrs. Earline H. Fox, aged 37, female, Negro of 1111 Manassas;

and Willie E. Thomas, male, Negro, aged 20 of 887 Manassas.

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The "Commercial Appeal" issue of November 23, 1969, reported that a bi-racial citizens committee credited with bringing opposing sides together in the School Board dispute would continue to function in other areas, according to Shelby County Criminal Judge Odell Horton, male, Negro. Members of the group were listed as Judge Horton; A. Maceo Walker, President of the Tri State Bank, Negro; H. A. Gilliam, Negro, Senior Vice President of Universal Life Insurance Company; Dr. Hollis Price, Negro, President of LeMoyne-Owen College; Lewis K. McKee, white, Chairman of the Board, National Bank of Commerce and also Chairman of the Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce; Allen Morgan, white, Chairman of the Board, First National Bank, Memphis; Walter Barret, Senior Vice President, Union Planters National Bank, white; W. D. Galbreath, white, President of the Percy Galbreath and Sons, Inc., and President of the Chamber of Commerce; Walter Armstrong, white, Attorney and David W. Cooley, white, Chief Executive Officer of the Chamber of Commerce.

On the afternoon of November 22, 1969, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, advised the black coalition leaders led a small march from Clayborn Temple to Memphis City Hall on November 22, 1969, for a so-called memorial service for the late John F. Kennedy. The march was staged after the large Santa Claus Parade, sponsored by the Downtown Merchants Association, held earlier that day. There were no arrests and no trouble. About 75 people participated. The march culminated at the City Hall where various civil rights songs were sung and Reverend Ezekiel Bell made a demand for union recognition at St. Joseph Hospital. He also was quoted by the "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, according to Lieutenant Arkin, as saying that the coalition would push for an end to alleged police brutality.

The November 25, 1969, issue of the "Commercial Appeal" reported that on November 25, 1969, Federal Judge Robert M. McRae at a prehearing conference continued indefinitely

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a request by the Memphis Board of Education for a temporary injunction against members of the United Black Coalition. The story stated that it did not affect the School Board's suit filed the previous Friday for a permanent injunction and ten million dollars in damages against the coalition, adding that the suit would probably not come before the courts for many many months since the court is almost a year behind in its case load.

Judge McRae was reported as saying "In the event that conditions warrant, immediate relief, counsel for the board may apply to the court for a temporary restraining order without notice and without a hearing. The paper reported that Shelby County Attorney General Phil M. Canale stated that his office was conducting investigation for the Shelby County Grand Jury concerning a possible State violation conducted during the recent school boycotting. The paper reported that absenteeism in the school is now back to normal and that the end of the black boycott had come to an end.

On November 22, 1969, a first source advised that the black coalition group in an effort to get more national support and recognition had made a decision primarily made by such leaders as Ezekiel Bell, James Morris Lawson, Jr., H. Ralph Jackson and Jesse Epps to form a Memphis affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and that this new group would take the place of the black coalition and would help in the coalition's activities against St. Joseph Hospital.

That it was tentatively agreed that Reverend Ezekiel Bell would serve as President of the Memphis SCLC branch and that Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, President, SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia, would probably soon come to Memphis to install officers.

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On November 26, 1969, the first source summarized recent activities in this regard and stated that actually the SCLC affiliate was formed over the weekend of November 22 - 23, 1969, for the purpose of creating pressure by the black community on the City of Memphis. That there is very much jealousy between the coalition leaders who will now be known as SCLC and the NAACP, that there is also jealousy between these groups and the Mobilizers, Inc., a group of dissident former SCLC workers who want to bring the Operation Bread Basket Economic Movement, popularized by SCLC representative Reverend Jesse Jackson of Chicago, Illinois, to Memphis, but that Lawson and Jackson, if it comes, want to control it, whereas the Mobilizers led by Cordell Jackson and Herman O'Neal want to control it themselves.

Source one stated that H. Ralph Jackson recently made a trip to California in an effort to get funds to support the Memphis movement and had been told by responsible and influential people that his group would have to be part of a national group in order to get outside funds and that the new group would have a three-fold purpose; one, to establish a black power base for total community-wide action; two, to serve as opposition to the well-entrenched NAACP; and three, to build up as a future black leader in Memphis Reverend Ezekiel Bell, who was recently ousted or resigned as President of the NAACP when he did not agree with the NAACP Executive Board's decision to end the school boycott in Memphis, Tennessee.

Source stated that the group does not want to revive the black ministers group known as Community on Move for Equality (COME) which was set up during the violence-prone sanitation strike in 1968 because COME has as members, supporters of both the coalition and the NAACP.

One of the leaders in forming the group in addition to Bell, Lawson, Jackson and Epps was Rayborn M. Hawkins, a young

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black teacher at Hamilton High School, graduate of University of Colorado, who lives at 1741 Kingsview. Source further stated that the real reason for the end of the school boycott by the black coalition was the ten million dollar suit filed by the Memphis Board of Education, that it had been reliably reported by Jesse Epps, in confidence, that Jerry Wurf, International President of the AFSCME, had not been happy about the manner in which Epps has been trying to organize private hospitals in Memphis, Tennessee, feeling that Epps had gone too far, too fast, had not signed up sufficient workers before trying to call for strikes and that the International Union was not about to put a lot of money into Memphis as it had done during the sanitation strike and that Epps is most fearful that since he was named in the suit that he might ultimately lose his job with the union.

Source added that ~~the~~ new SCLC group had a formal organizational meeting on Monday evening, November 24, 1969 at the Centenary Methodist Church of which James M. Lawson is Pastor that the organizing group called some 32 to 33 people to head it and actually about 45 to 50 people appeared, including such dissidents as Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson, Prime Minister of the Invaders, a local black power group, and Richard L. Woods of the Memphis Mobilizers (a characterization of the Invaders is attached hereto in the Appendix).

Reverend Lawson chaired the organizational meeting and stated that there was a need for a growth in the community of a new black movement to oppose the NAACP. He made an emotional appeal to support the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and to live up to his image. Lawson deplored the demise of influence of the NAACP citing that its political arm, the Shelby County Democratic Club, had lost its influence and that the last three candidates which it ran for public office, namely Russell B. Sugarmon, Jr., and A. W. Willis, as well as Cuba Johnson, had been finally defeated.

The following officers were named: H. Ralph Jackson, Chairman, Reverend Ezekiel Bell, President, Katie Sexton, female

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Negro, Head of the Kennedy Democratic Club, First Vice President; Rayburn Hawkins, Second Vice President; Velma Lois Jones, Negro, schoolteacher, Secretary. Edward Leroy Watson, Treasurer, male, Negro, he is manager of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Regional Office.

The Assistant Secretary will be MARGARET GLADNEY, white, female, teacher at Northside High School, who, according to source one is reputed to have stimulated black students to do much of the recent damage at Northside High School. Source stated that Tralease Mathews, a black militant, refused the Assistant Secretary job, wanting to serve on the Membership Committee and she was permitted to do so. She, Tralease Mathews, will serve as Co-chairman of the Membership Committee with Alma Morris, a Negro political leader, who works with Mrs. Katie Sexton.

Other board members in addition to Mathews and Morris are Cornelia Crenshaw, a Negro political dissident, who heads the Committee Opposed to Starvation Taxes (COST), which is attacking the sanitation and sewage fee in the City of Memphis. Ernest C. Withers, a free-lance photographer; Mrs. Edith Powell, a postal employee, currently on sick leave, because of an alleged injury. She recently married a sailor who is stationed in California. Mrs. "Diddy" Modia (phonetic) whose given name is believed to be Elma Modia, a schoolteacher. She is a sister of Mrs. Powell. Jesse Epps; Harold Middlebrook, postal employee, former youth director, NAACP, who quit the NAACP to join the coalition. Joe Crittendon, Negro, filling station operator, North Seventh Street, Memphis; Reverend P. L. Rowe, Negro, minister; James Morris Lawson, Jr.; and Roosevelt Joyner or Joiner. Lawson will serve as Director of Programs and direct action.

Source one stated that Watson, Richard Woods and Dennis Henderson, a student leader at LeMoyne-Owen

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College, all walked out of the meeting, stating that they would not serve as Members of the Board of Directors because they had not been consulted in the past and they felt that the leadership would attempt to suppress them in any actions which they might want to perform.

Reverend Bell wants the new SCLC affiliate in Memphis to be a militant group, wants it to be an activist group, but nevertheless to be nonviolent. It will work on various issues and at present will emphasize the St. Joseph Hospital issue and will also make an issue of so-called police brutality in Memphis. Memberships will be \$1 each. The group hopes to sell 25,000 memberships. The group will cooperate with other black groups in their various programs, such as the program of COST, the program of Women on the Move for Equality Now, which is a defunct group, set up during the sanitation strike, the Kennedy Democratic Club, the Invaders, the Mobilizers, Inc., et cetera, but will only work with these groups on specific issues if a majority of the new board of the SCLC in Memphis so votes.

Source one stated that it was conjectural as to if and when Ralph Abernathy would come to Memphis to install new officers.

On November 27, 1969, source one advised that Reverend Ralph Abernathy, President of SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia, would be in Memphis, Tennessee, on the night of November 27, 1969, for the purpose of installing new officers of the SCLC chapter, and that the main purpose would be to have the black coalition headed by Reverend Ezekiel Bell serve as another arm of SCLC.

Source stated that Reverend Bell had made statements to the effect that the new SCLC chapter and the black coalition would have as its primary object the strike at St. Joseph Hospital and that also high on the list of priorities would be the matters of "police brutality in this city."

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On November 28, 1969, source one advised that Abernathy had appeared in Memphis on the night of November 27, 1969, for the purpose of installing SCLC officers. They were installed at Clayborn Temple AME Church, 280 Hernando, with approximately 600 people being present.

Abernathy emphasized that the new SCLC chapter must continue its picketing at St. Joseph Hospital and force St. Joseph Hospital to recognize Local 1733 of the AFSCME. He also said "We must picket until black people realize that they have not been promised enough in the fields of education." He did not elaborate.

Abernathy indicated that SCLC did not come into Memphis to fight the NAACP or the Urban League or any other organization, but that the Memphis SCLC chapter was formed after a split in the NAACP over ending the school boycott. It was during the split that Reverend Bell resigned as President of the NAACP and then helped form the new SCLC chapter.

Source stated that at the meeting H. Ralph Jackson commented that the split with the NAACP was a very severe blow in the black community. Reverend Bell served as master of ceremonies.

At this meeting, Abernathy called for mass picketing of downtown merchants in an effort to force the St. Joseph Hospital Board to recognize Local 1733.

Later on November 28, 1969, source one advised that Abernathy led a line of about 120 pickets in downtown Main Street through post Thanksgiving shoppers, that pickets remained generally in the downtown area until about 3:00 p.m., but that Abernathy remained only a short period of time, leaving Memphis at about 12:45 p.m., to return to Atlanta.

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Source stated that Abernathy had commented that SCLC will support a "Operation Bread Basket plan" in the Memphis area in the near future, explaining that Operation Bread Basket is a venture primarily headed by SCLC representative Jesse Jackson in Chicago, Illinois, primarily designed to force national corporations to hire more black personnel at all levels, including executive levels and to prominently display merchandise made or manufactured by black businesses.

The picketing information was confirmed by Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Administrative Aide to Memphis Police Chief Henry Lux, who stated that there were no arrests or no incidents during the downtown picketing or boycotting of white merchants on November 28, 1969.

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APPENDIX

1

INVADERS, also known as
Black Organizing Project

On May 7, 1969, a first source advised that a militant black nationalist group of young Memphis, Tennessee, Negroes, now known as Invaders, was originally formed in the Summer and Fall of 1967 by three Memphis Negroes, Coby Vernon Smith, John Burrell Smith, and Charles Laverne Cabbage. During the Fall of 1967 and Spring of 1968, it assumed the name of Black Organizing Project (BOP), with subsidiary cells known as Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB) at Owen College; Black Student Association (BSA) at Memphis State University; LeMoyné College Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP (LIC, NAACP) at LeMoyné College; Invaders, primarily consisting of high school students and school dropouts; and City Organizers, consisting of young nonstudent adults, all having a combined average membership of about one hundred. The ostensible purpose was to create pride in black identity, to teach black culture and black history, and obtain employment for young blacks.

On May 7, 1969, source one and source two advised that Black Organizing Project (BOP), beginning in the Spring of 1968, degenerated into a group of approximately 30 to 35 young Memphis blacks, who increasingly adopted a philosophy of hatred of the white race, hatred of the capitalistic system, and hatred of all constituted legal authority, particularly law enforcement agencies. Theirs is a philosophy of nihilism and anarchy.

Both sources added that beginning in the Summer of 1968, the Invaders became a dominant group. LIC, NAACP disbanded. AAB disbanded. BSA at Memphis State University became an autonomous organization with no current formal relationship with the Invaders, and the City Organizers ceased to exist.

Since June, 1968, approximately thirty Invaders have committed various local crimes, including arson, robbery, larceny, forgery, prostitution, narcotics violations, and shooting of police officer, as well as inciting to riot in public schools. Over 25 have been convicted for these offenses, most of them making bond and appealing convictions. For example, John Burrell Smith has been convicted of inciting a high school riot and possession of marijuana. Charles Laverne Cabbage has been convicted of carrying a pistol, third degree burglary, and refusal to report for Armed Forces induction.

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APPENDIX

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INVADERS, also known as
Black Organizing Project

Both sources added that these arrests and the attendant publicity have weakened the influence of the Invaders and caused them to be less vocal and less publicly contentious. Their membership is estimated at forty with only about twenty hard-core members. The Invaders have no financial resources of consequence which further restricts their activities. Sources one and two added that the Invaders primarily engage in psychological warfare by attempting to convince the community that they are far more powerful and potentially violent than is actually the case. Sources one and two advised that on occasion the Invaders refer to their group as the BOP but actually the only active cell is the Invaders.

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